

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00

/109 W

-----085238 160749Z /13

R 151744Z JUL 77

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1066

INFO USMISSION UN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 5402

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, US, SP

SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: MULTILATERAL INFORMATION ON SPANISH  
GOVT

REF: (A) STATE 159747 (B) MADRID 4976 (C) 76 MADRID 1501

(D) 76 STATE 37591

1. WHILE REFS B AND C LARGELY COVER THE MATERIAL REQUESTED,  
THE EVOLVING SITUATION IN SPAIN PROMPTS THE FOLLOWING  
ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ON THE SPECIFIC QUESTIONS RAISED IN  
PARA 7, REF D.

2. SPAIN'S MULTILATERAL INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES.  
BROADLY, POST-FRANCO DEMOCRATIC SPAIN SEEKS TO GAIN  
ACCEPTANCE AS A WESTERN EUROPEAN INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACY.  
IT IS CONSCIOUS THAT THE DEATH OF FRANCO AND THE DEMOCRATIC  
GAINS MADE SINCE THEN HAVE DONE MUCH TO ELIMINATE THE  
BARRIERS THAT FOR SO LONG ISOLATED SPAIN, STUNTED ITS  
FOREIGN-POLICY SCOPE, AND PUT ITS DIPLOMACY ON THE  
DEFENSIVE. HIGH-LEVEL FOREIGN POLICY PRONOUNCEMENTS  
AND EDITORIALS ALIKE MAKE CLEAR THAT THE NEW SPAIN LOOKS  
FORWARD TO, AND INTENDS TO SEEK, AN ENLARGED ROLE IN  
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WORLD AFFAIRS.

3. MORE SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES, HOWEVER, REMAIN RELATIVELY  
SPARSE, EXCEPT FOR THE DECLARED INTENTION TO SEEK EEC  
MEMBERSHIP AND TO EXAMINE THE POSSIBILITY OF NATO  
MEMBERSHIP (BOTH SUBJECTS OUTSIDE THE SCOPE OF THIS  
CABLE). THE RECENT GOS DECLARATION SEEKING THE RE-

OPENING OF NEGOTIATIONS ON GIBRALTAR SEEMS TO SUGGEST THE GOS MAY LOOK FOR INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR ITS POSITION, BUT IN FACT WE DOUBT IT, UNLESS BRITISH REACTIONS TEMPER THE CURRENT MODEST OPTIMISM OF THE GOS THAT INDEED SOMETHING CAN BE WORKED OUT. SPAIN IS, HOWEVER, SHARPLY AND UNDERSTANDABLY RESENTFUL OF OAU ACTIONS IDENTIFYING THE CANARY ISLANDS AS A MATTER OF AFRICAN COLONIZATION, AND WILL BE EXTREMELY SENSITIVE TO ANY DEVELOPMENT ON THAT FRONT. (IN THE COURSE OF HELPING THE GOS WITH A REPRESENTATION ON THE MATTER IN MONROVIA, WE ESTABLISHED A LINKAGE WITH THE PUERTO RICAN ISSUE, WHICH A SENIOR FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL EXPLICITLY ACKNOWLEDGED.) WHILE FORMALLY ABSOLVED OF ITS RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE WESTERN (FORMERLY SPANISH) SAHARA, SPAIN REMAINS ACUTELY INTERESTED IN DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING THE AREA, NOT LEAST BECAUSE OF CONTINUING DOMESTIC POLITICAL ATTENTION TO IT.

4. INFLUENCE OF OTHER COUNTRIES AND GROUPS. AS NOTED IN REF B, THE REGIONS AND CONCEPTS IDENTIFIED AS THE PRINCIPAL FOCAL POINTS OF SPANISH DIPLOMACY -- EUROPE-, THE ATLANTIC, LATIN AMERICA, THE MEDITERRANEAN, THE ARAB COUNTRIES, AND THE THIRD WORLD -- ARE SOMETIMES OVERLAPPING AND SOMETIMES CONFLICTING. IF EUROPE, AND FULL INTEGRATION INTO EUROPE, ENJOYS GREATER PRIORITY IN THIS LIST, THE OTHER COMPONENTS ARE FAR FROM ABANDONED. WHICH  
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ELEMENT, OR WHICH CONSIDERATION, WILL PREDOMINATE IN AFFECTING THE SPANISH POSITION WILL VARY FROM ISSUE TO ISSUE, BUT WE ANTICIPATE THAT STRADDLE OR COMPROMISE WILL OFTEN BE THE RESULT OF SPAIN'S MULTI-REGIONAL OUTLOOK.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MADRID 5402

5. SPAIN HAS NOT APPEARED TO CONSIDER THAT IT HAS HAD SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCE ON OTHER GROUPS, BUT IN ITS CHANGED POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES IT WILL TRY TO BECOME MORE ACTIVE IN THIS SENSE, WITH LATIN AMERICA AND EVEN THE ARAB COUNTRIES OBVIOUS TARGETS. MORE CONCRETELY, HOWEVER, SPAIN HAS EMPHASIZED INSTEAD ITS EUROPEAN LOCATION AND ITS HISTORIC TIES WITH LATIN AMERICA AND THE ARABS AS GIVING IT A NATURAL FUNCTION AS A BRIDGE BETWEEN EUROPE AND THESE REGIONS. WHILE WE MAINTAIN SOME RESERVE ABOUT THE REALISM OF THE BRIDGE IDEA, IT IS CLEAR THAT ATTENTION TO THIS LARGELY SELF-APPOINTED ROLE WOULD BE EXTREMELY GRATIFYING TO SPAIN ITSELF.

6. GOS INSTRUCTION AND CONTROL OF ITS DELEGATIONS. AS NOTED IN REFS B AND C, CHRONIC (AND SERIOUS) UNDERSTAFFING AND PERSISTENT PERSONNEL AND ORGANIZATIONAL DEFICIENCIES HAVE IN THE PAST UNDERCUT MINISTRY CONTROL OVER ITS MULTILATERAL PRESENTATION, BUT THE CURRENT ADMINISTRATION HAS EXPRESSED A FIRM INTENTION TO REMEDY THE PROBLEM. WHETHER THE EFFORT WILL SUCCEED REMAINS TO BE SEEN, BUT WE BELIEVE THE MINISTRY CAN MAKE IT WORK. SPAIN'S REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD HAVE LITTLE OR NO INDEPENDENT POLITICAL POWER WITH WHICH TO RESIST.  
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7. RECEPTIVITY TO U.S. REPRESENTATIONS. THE GOS HAS BEEN NORMALLY -- THAT IS, TO A DEGREE, BUT NOT COMPLETELY -- RECEPTIVE TO OUR REPRESENTATIONS. A CASE IN POINT IS THE RECENT (AND VERY SUBSTANTIAL) EFFORT ON THE ILO, WHICH HAD APPRECIABLE EFFECT ALTHOUGH THE GOS DID NOT GO ALL THE WAY. FOR THEIR PART, THE SPANISH HAVE ONLY OCCASIONALLY SOUGHT OUR SUPPORT. THE GOS NOT ONLY UNDERSTANDS, BUT IN FACT SEEMS TO SHARE, THE CONCEPT OF MULTILATERAL/BILATERAL LINKAGE.

8. REF B DISCUSSED OUR BELIEF THAT DEVELOPMENTS IN SPAIN HAVE ENHANCED THE PROSPECTS FOR EFFECTIVE CONSULTATION ON MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS, AS IT ALSO NOTED THE ABIDING SPANISH CONCERNS, SUCH AS WITH THE ARABS, LATIN AMERICANS, AND MORE BROADLY THE THIRD WORLD, WHICH WILL SOMETIMES BAR AGREEMENT. ON BALANCE, WE REMAIN MODERATELY HOPEFUL OF IMPROVEMENT. STABLER

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